UNITED
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GENERAL

S/22063
11 January 1991

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

LETTER DATED 10 JANUARY 1991 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I.
OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF PAKISTAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS
ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to attach herewith a message dated 10 January 1991 addressed to you by His Excellency Mr. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

I should be grateful if the present letter and its annex were circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Shaukat UMER
Acting Permanent Representative

READEX
FICHE

Annex

Text of the message from H.E. Mr. Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, Prime Minister of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, addressed to the Secretary-General

The mounting crisis in the Gulf has brought the region close to catastrophe. It is evident that the situation in the Gulf is approaching the edge of a precipice, stepping beyond which can only lead to widespread devastation. It is in the shadow of this sombre reality that I address this letter to Your Excellency in the knowledge that you share with me the desire for a peaceful resolution of the crisis caused by the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait.

As Your Excellency is aware Pakistan has always opposed interference and intervention in the affairs of other States. We believe in the principle of non-use of force in international relations and the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. We believe that the maintenance of peaceful international order, in which small, weak and vulnerable States can continue to enjoy their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity depends entirely on a firm adherence to these basic principles of international law. It is this fundamental belief that has led us to support all Security Council resolutions adopted on the crisis in the Gulf since the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. We believe that the full implementation of these resolutions, including the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of Iraqi occupation forces from Kuwait and the restoration of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Kuwait and its legitimate Government forms the basis for a peaceful settlement.

It is my firm belief that a war in the Gulf will bring in its wake a major political, economic and ecological disaster for the countries directly involved in the conflict as well as for the entire region and indeed for the world. It is therefore essential for Iraq to withdraw unconditionally from Kuwait in order that such a cataclysm is averted. The international community must intensify its efforts to seek a peaceful way out of the present impasse, on the basis of respect of international law and norms of inter-State behaviour.

I was considerably encouraged to learn of your visit to Baghdad to engage in a dialogue with the Iraqi leadership. I would like to convey to you the full support of the Government and the people of Pakistan for your mission of peace and sincerely hope that it will contribute towards achieving a peaceful settlement of the crisis in the Gulf. I would also like to assure you of Pakistan's readiness to assist Your Excellency in any appropriate manner, for safeguarding and preserving peace and security in the region.

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LETTER DATED 11 JANUARY 1991 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of a statement issued on 11 January 1991 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

I request that you have the text of the statement circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Guennadi I. OUDOVENKO
Ambassador
Permanent Representative of the
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
to the United Nations

Annex

[Original: Russian]

Statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

The course of events in the Persian Gulf region has reached a critical stage. The hopes which peoples had set on the meeting between United States Secretary of State James Baker and Iraqi Minister for Foreign Affairs Tariq Aziz were not, unfortunately, fulfilled. The collective will of the international community, which was demonstrated by the United Nations Security Council's resolutions in favour of a peaceful settlement of the crisis, are in essence being ignored by the leadership of Iraq.

All this gives rise to deep concern in the Ukraine. The Ukrainian SSR expressed its position vis-à-vis the Iraq-Kuwait conflict on the day it first erupted. In its statement on this subject, the Supreme Soviet of the Republic noted in particular that the Ukraine considers the use of force to settle any international conflicts not caused by acts of armed aggression to be unacceptable and stated that Iraqi forces must be withdrawn from the territory of Kuwait and the conflict solved by peaceful means.

In its address to the United Nations General Assembly at its forty-fifth session, the Ukrainian delegation called for the full restoration and safeguarding of the sovereignty, national independence and territorial integrity of occupied Kuwait and emphasized that this must be achieved by political means.

In these troubled times, the Ukrainian SSR would like to draw the attention of all parties, and particularly of the Iraqi leadership, to their major responsibility for any possible dangerous turn of events in the region. Obviously, a further exacerbation of the conflict would bring the threat of massive military action whose disastrous consequences are difficult to envisage.

The present situation in the Persian Gulf requires that everyone make the utmost effort to seek ways of solving the conflict peacefully. In this regard, the Ukrainian SSR sincerely wishes United Nations Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar success in the complicated mission which he is undertaking to remove the threat of war.

All remaining possibilities for a peaceful settlement of the conflict must be explored.

Kiev, 11 January 1991

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LETTER DATED 10 JANUARY 1991 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF TURKEY TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to enclose herewith a note verbale dated 10 January 1991 from the representative of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus in connection with the implementation of Security Council resolution 661 (1990) by the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

I would be grateful if the present letter and its annex could be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Mustafa AKŞIN
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

Annex

The Office of the Representative of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus presents its compliments to the Secretary-General and has the honour to inform him of the decision dated 8 August 1990 of the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus to abide by the provisions of Security Council resolution 661 (1990) and to reaffirm the commitment of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus to the full implementation of this resolution in the conduct of its relations with Iraq and Kuwait in accordance with paragraph 5 of the said resolution. The Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus will abide by the provisions of other subsequent resolutions on the same subject.

The Office of the Representative of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus would be grateful if the text of this note is circulated as a document of the Security Council Committee established by resolution 661 (1990) concerning the situation between Iraq and Kuwait.

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LETTER DATED 11 JANUARY 1991 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES OF EGYPT, SAUDI ARABIA AND THE SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

We have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of the communiqué issued by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the Syrian Arab Republic following their fourth round of co-ordination and consultation, held at Riyadh on 5 and 6 January 1991.

I should be grateful if you would have this communiqué circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Amre MOUSSA
Permanent Representative of
the Arab Republic of Egypt

(Signed) Samir SHIHABI
Permanent Representative of
the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

(Signed) Dia-Allah EL-FATTAL
Permanent Representative of
the Syrian Arab Republic

Annex

Communiqué

Proceeding from their faith in the unity of the common Arab destiny and adherence to all Arab conventions and recognizing the importance of - and the need to continue - co-ordination and regular periodic consultation for the purpose of defending Arab and patriotic interests, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the Syrian Arab Republic held their fourth round of co-ordination and consultation at Riyadh from 19 to 20 Jumada II A.H. 1411, corresponding to 5 to 6 January A.D. 1991.

At the beginning of the session, His Royal Highness Prince Saud al-Faisal, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Saudi Arabia, informed His Excellency Dr. Esmat Abdel Meguid, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt, and His Excellency Mr. Farouk al-Shara', Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic, of the results of meetings held by the Supreme Council of the Gulf Co-operation Council at Doha, as well as of the favourable and positive reaction of leaders of the Gulf Co-operation Council States to the evolution of co-operation and co-ordination with Egypt and the Syrian Arab Republic and their determination to make such co-operation a regular and established practice in all spheres.

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs then devoted their meetings to consideration of the critical situation resulting from Iraq's continued occupation of Kuwait. They reviewed the latest developments in the light of international contacts designed to ensure the full implementation of all Arab and Security Council resolutions relating to the Gulf crisis.

In this context, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs welcomed the international efforts and contacts designed to ensure the implementation of Arab and international resolutions calling for a complete and unconditional Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait and the restoration of that country's legitimate authority.

They expressed the hope that these efforts would ensure that the Security Council resolutions were implemented and that the peoples of the region - and the Iraqi people in particular - were spared the dangers of the military option. They affirmed that the Iraqi leadership bore full responsibility if its forces did not respond to the resolutions of international legitimacy.

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs also reviewed the press communiqué issued by the European Community on 4 January 1991 concerning the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait.

The Ministers welcomed the imminent meeting between the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Iraq and the United States at Geneva on 9 January 1991, representing as it did a last opportunity for a peaceful solution of the Gulf crisis in accordance with the resolutions of Arab and international legitimacy.

They extolled the European Community's affirmation of its resolute determination to ensure the full and unconditional implementation of all Security Council resolutions.

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs also affirmed the declared positions of their countries with respect to the rejection of any settlement based on the concept of partial withdrawal from Kuwait and rewarding of the aggressor.

The Ministers affirmed that the question of Palestine is an Arab issue and that responsibility for it is a patriotic matter for all Arabs.

They expressed their condemnation of the Iraqi régime's attempts to take advantage of the question of Palestine in order to justify its subjugation of Kuwait and expulsion of that country's people, together with hundreds of thousands of resident workers, including Palestinians.

The Ministers also stated their rejection of any attempt by the Iraqi régime to induce any party to negotiate over the problems of the region and its security. The régime is neither qualified nor trustworthy, given its policy of adventurism and subjugation of Kuwait, in violation of all international rules and conventions, as well as Arab and Islamic values.

The Ministers also affirmed their States' determination to solve the current crisis in the Gulf region as quickly as possible in order that all Arab efforts might be devoted to bringing about a just, comprehensive and lasting solution of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the question of Palestine, in accordance with United Nations resolutions calling for Israel's complete withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and urging that the Palestinian people be enabled to exercise its inalienable legitimate rights, including the right to establish its own independent State on its national soil.

In the context of international efforts and contacts, the Ministers held a meeting with Mr. Loncar, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, which currently chairs the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. They discussed with him means of implementing United Nations resolutions relating to the Gulf crisis and the Movement's role in that connection.

The Ministers for Foreign Affairs agreed to hold their fifth round of meetings in the Syrian Arab Republic at a date to be agreed upon in due course.

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GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Forty-sixth session
QUESTION OF PALESTINE
THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-sixth year

Letter dated 8 January 1991 from the Permanent Representative of Indonesia to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of a statement issued by the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia concerning recent acts of violence in the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967.

I would be grateful if you could arrange to have the present letter and attached text circulated as an official document of the General Assembly, under the items entitled "Question of Palestine" and "The situation in the Middle East", and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Nana S. SUTRESNA
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

Statement concerning recent acts of violence in the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967 issued on 5 January 1991 by the Department of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia

1. The Government of Indonesia is deeply concerned about recent acts of violence in the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967, especially the Gaza Strip, and condemns the indiscriminate shooting by Israeli security forces against Palestinian civilians, in its continuing efforts to suppress the intifadah, which led to the killing of five Palestinians and the injury of as many as 250. Such brutal actions by Israel, the occupying Power, demonstrate the continuing violations of its obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, 1949, and Security Council resolution 681 (1990).

2. We call upon all States to strengthen their efforts to provide international protection for the Palestinian civilians in the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories and to promote the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East to reach a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the core of which is the question of Palestine.

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S/22068
14 January 1991
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LETTER DATED 14 JANUARY 1991 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF YEMEN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I have the honour to transmit herewith the text of the initiative announced by President Ali Abdullah Saleh, Chairman of the Command Council of the Republic of Yemen, at the meeting of the Council of Representatives held today, Monday, 14 January 1991, with a view to bringing about a peaceful settlement of the current crisis in the Gulf.

I should be grateful if you would have this text circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Abdalla Saleh AL-ASHTAL
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

Annex

1. Withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait.

2. Arab and international forces to take up position in the area of the dispute between Iraq and Kuwait, under League of Arab States and United Nations supervision.

3. Foreign forces in the region to withdraw immediately upon Iraq's agreement to withdraw from Kuwait.

4. Pledge by the Security Council to implement its resolutions concerning the Arab-Israeli conflict by hastening the convening of the International Peace Conference on the Middle East.

5. Pledge by those States which have forces in the Gulf and Arabian peninsula region not to use force against Iraq.

6. Cessation of the economic boycott against Iraq immediately after acceptance of these proposals by the parties to the dispute.

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S/22069
14 January 1991
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LETTER DATED 14 JANUARY 1991 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF TUNISIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I have the honour to enclose a letter addressed to you by Mr. Habib Boularès, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Tunisia, which I should be grateful if you would have circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ahmed GHEZAL
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

Annex

Letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Tunisia addressed to the President of the Security Council

At a time when the world is facing the threat of imminent war, the Security Council remains the last recourse.

We note that, five months after it flared up, the Gulf crisis is on the point of degenerating into a devastating war which would be a disaster for the world, with absolutely unforeseeable consequences. This would also be the first instance of a war being waged on the responsibility of the Security Council.

The Middle East, which is at the heart of this conflict and which has already experienced six deadly wars since the establishment of the United Nations and is still suffering the consequences of a series of unresolved conflicts, would again pay the highest price for this new war.

The United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, have examined in turn the conflicts which have arisen in the region, and have on each occasion adopted substantive resolutions which have however for the most part remained a dead letter. The implementation of these resolutions would certainly have eased tensions and helped dissipate the antagonisms in order to bring about the necessary establishment in the region of a climate conducive to the development of trust, security and peace. It is the build-up of unresolved conflicts which lies at the root of the instability and the continuing violence.

A return to the international rule of law is not out of reach. The Security Council is in a position to ensure respect for its own resolutions, the essence of which is the obligation of all countries in the region to comply equally with the basic principles of:

- non-use of force;
- non-acquisition of territories by force;
- non-interference in internal affairs;
- and settlement of disputes by peaceful means.

Thus, right from the first days of the current crisis, Tunisia had called for the withdrawal of the Iraqi forces from Kuwait and the restoration of that country's sovereignty in line with international legality. Tunisia has also implemented the embargo decided upon by the Security Council, despite the heavy losses this has caused to its economy, quantified estimates of which have been communicated to the appropriate United Nations bodies.

Tunisia has, lastly, approached Iraq, Kuwait and the other parties concerned with a view to exploring ways of bringing about a peaceful solution which will safeguard the legitimate interests of all parties. The eight-point initiative of President Zine el Abidine Ben Ali, President of the Republic of Tunisia, his persistent efforts within the framework of the Arab Maghreb Union and the intense contacts he is maintaining with fraternal and friendly countries strengthen our conviction that a peaceful settlement without the use of force is possible within the framework of the international rule of law.

We consider that the opening of dialogue between Iraq and the United States of America, as well as the initiatives of the United Nations Secretary-General and those of the European Community, are only the beginning of a negotiating process which deserves to be maintained and strengthened with the support and involvement of the entire international community in order to ensure and hasten the chances of a peaceful settlement.

The commitment of the parties concerned to apply all the Security Council resolutions to the letter is a valuable asset for the United Nations; it is now up to the Security Council, under these circumstances, to examine ways and means of implementing its own resolutions while there is still time. The effort to design and structure this implementation, which it is the task of the Council itself to define, cannot be purely and simply set aside in favour of war. Quite the contrary, this effort is an earnest of the fact that war is not justified.

Should settlement of the Kuwaiti question through negotiation lead in tandem to the beginnings of a settlement of the other conflicts in the region, in respect for the international rule of law, this cumulative effect is certainly desirable, and deserves to be encouraged rather than rejected, particularly at the cost of war. On the other hand, encouraging the use of force as a means of solving the Gulf crisis alone will inevitably aggravate still further frustrations and destruction of a kind which would irreparably compromise the very purpose of the operation, as well as the conditions for settling other conflicts in the region.

The precedent of the use of force is a dangerous one, in that this practice might be extended to other situations, at the risk of engulfing the United Nations in a logic of war, contrary to its own vocation.

Lastly, the dispute between two fraternal and neighbouring countries, Iraq and Kuwait, calls rather for recourse to a peaceful solution as the only means of preserving the chances for reconciliation and concord and ensuring the future restoration of peaceful and lasting relations of trust between them.

The logic of peace is all the more essential in that the peoples of the region have, since the creation of the United Nations, experienced six deadly wars which have enabled them neither to settle the conflicts nor to attain peace. It is high time that we worked collectively to wrest the region from the infernal cycle of war by opting precisely for the peace that is the raison d'être of the Security Council.

Thus, while reiterating its support for the initiatives taken by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in his efforts to promote a dialogue between the parties concerned, Tunisia calls on the international community to help

him in his task and to loyally assist his peace effort. The Security Council should thus be able to meet again in time to evaluate the results of the actions taken and to adopt the measures needed to secure the effective settlement of the present crisis while preserving the chances of peace for the benefit of the entire region.

Peace is indivisible. One of the lessons to be learnt from the history of this embattled Middle East region is that the legacy of past conflicts cannot be overcome either by further violence or by a selective approach whose future is uncertain.

The second lesson is that it is not enough to debate and adopt resolution after resolution; the Security Council must provide a framework for the application of its resolutions, including an appropriate timetable.

We formally invite the Security Council to assume its full responsibilities towards the region and to define such a framework for settling the main question, namely, the question of Palestine, for that is the basic problem whose outcome will determine the solution of all the other problems besetting the region. Only then will a way be found of settling such other related questions as collective security, supervised disarmament, the abolition of weapons of mass destruction and the creation of a denuclearized zone.

Thus, while commending the statement made by the President of the Security Council on 20 December 1990, Tunisia calls expressly on the Council to adopt a resolution deciding to convene an International Peace Conference on the Middle East at a definite date in 1991.

Such a contribution by the Security Council would not impede early settlement of the Kuwait crisis and would make it possible to set in motion, for the first time in the Middle East, a peace process that would guarantee a sustained and progressive settlement effort, putting an end to the cycle of violence and giving all parties a chance to contribute equally to establishing the peace that remains the legitimate concern of all the peoples of the Middle East and the fundamental vocation of the United Nations.

The Security Council must therefore choose in time between a negotiated settlement which will ensure a lasting peace beneficial to the entire region and the use of force, with disastrous and unforeseeable consequences. The Security Council, in short, holds the key to war and peace.

Habib BOULARES
Minister for Foreign Affairs of
the Republic of Tunisia

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S/22070
15 January 1991
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LETTER DATED 15 JANUARY 1991 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the text of a message from President Hafez al-Assad of the Syrian Arab Republic addressed to President Saddam Hussein of the Republic of Iraq through the broadcast media on the afternoon of Saturday, 12 January 1991. I request you to have the text of the message circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Dia-Allah EL-FATTAL
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

Annex

Message of 12 January 1991 from the President of the Syrian Arab Republic to the President of the Republic of Iraq

With unalloyed brotherly sentiments and sincere patriotic feeling, and with an understanding of the dangers encompassing the Arab world in general and fraternal Iraq in particular, I address you through the airwaves with this message in a desire for us to avert undesirable consequences for the nation and for Iraq. I am most hopeful that my message will meet with your understanding of the true nature of my motives and with the response that I would desire.

In the delicate circumstances through which the Arab world is passing, which are being monitored and whose developments are being followed with the greatest interest and concern, by the masses of our nation and the peoples and Governments of the world, I can find no better preface to my addressing you than that of affirming the ties of brotherhood which bind our two peoples in Syria and Iraq and of asserting my conviction that the constant concern of both fraternal countries should focus on addressing the challenges and dangers that confront the Arab nation.

I decided to address this message to you, despite the differences in viewpoint and the unfriendly relations that have separated us for many years, in the hope that such matters would become better and more useful for our two countries and for the nation. The matter with which we are concerned makes it necessary that we should be frank with each other and that we should exchange views, since any affront to Iraq is ultimately an affront, in one form or another, to Syria and to the Arab nation.

When we see that Iraq is confronting a grave danger, as is the case at the present time, the differences between the two fraternal countries diminish and disappear, because those things that bring us together are much greater and much more important than any differences or selfish gains that we may perceive, if, indeed, it is true to say that there are any such gains to be made.

A grasp of the seriousness of the danger posed impels one to speak with the frankness required of fraternal and patriotic ties. At the outset, I nevertheless hasten to express the hope that my words will not be understood as a wish to aggravate the situation but rather in the sense that it is my concern to speak to men's hearts. It is my goal that rationality and emotion should interact and that thought and action should rise to such a level as to realize the higher national interest and bring the enemies of our nation to miss an opportunity beyond anything that they could never dream, particularly since this opportunity comes to them by our own action and our own power of decision. Accordingly, we must eliminate it entirely by our own action and by virtue of our own decision, without being forced to do so by anyone and without fear of anyone but rather taking as our point of departure a belief in the need for such action and for such a decision. It is this that is the role of valiant Iraq at this time. Thus we will not allow the enemies of the nation to reap any benefit by exploiting this opportunity.

Although Arabs may undergo circumstances held to be sensitive, it does not prevent them from listening to the voices of their brothers who are concerned for them.

The Arab interest is of concern to us. And the interest of Iraq is of concern to us. We are both part of the Arab nation, and thence comes the commonality of outlook that stems from a common history, a common heritage, a common civilization, a common language, commonality of spiritual values, shared pains and hopes, a common destiny and a commonality in all that is implied by our affiliation with the Arab nation from whose territory divine missions set forth and by whose philosophy, science and ideals the world was overwhelmed. Accordingly, the commonality in which we are involved in word and deed constitutes for us a right and a duty.

Hence, it is the duty of a brother that he should communicate what he has to say to his brother, whose duty it is, in turn, to listen to what his brother has to say with the greatest sensitivity and with an open mind, because they both share a common destiny. Whoever listens to what his brother has to say has suffered no loss and misses no new idea.

While I would stress the grave danger confronting the Arab nation in general and Iraq in particular, and while I call for enemies to be deprived of opportunity, I am not concerned with discussing truth and falsehood with respect to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, which is another matter and for the discussion of which this is neither the time nor the place. The important thing in present circumstances, however, is that we face a grave and dangerous situation threatening Iraq.

Our concern for Iraq, for its territory, its people and its army, is the same as our concern for ourselves, because Iraq is a dear and precious part of the land of the Arabs and of the Arab nation.

The beneficiary of the situation at the present moment is Israel, which is occupying Arab territory and plotting and striving for continued expansion on Arab land. It is profiting from the present inter-Arab situation and intra-Arab antagonism, while the Arabs, jointly and severally and headed by Iraq, are the losers. I do not see that any of the Arabs have an interest in what is happening now, and I do not see that Iraq has any interest in it either.

The fundamental interest of the Arab nation, particularly at the present stage of history, lies in coherence and genuine solidarity and in each Arab country ensuring the tranquillity of all other Arab countries, even if there are differences between them with respect to one or more inter-Arab issues.

I do not wish to believe that the Arabs' sense of a common destiny has lapsed or that solidarity among the Arabs has become impossible. I wish rather to stress that the grievous character of the danger is apt to strengthen the sense of a common destiny and to promote Arab solidarity and the solution of inter-Arab differences through dialogue rather than force.

I should like to stress in particular that the responsibility of Iraq, Syria and other Arab countries is to assist in ensuring the tranquillity and sense of security of neighbouring Arab countries, even if differences should emerge from

time to time since such differences can be remedied by means of dialogue, and in such a manner as to build confidence and eliminate any Arab country's fear of another. This will help to promote a spirit of brotherliness and achieve effective Arab solidarity, and it will represent an important step on the way to a future Arab unity achieved through conviction and faith in the salvation of the nation through such unity.

The future before us is open to the unification of the entire nation, and our nation is a great nation in and of itself and by virtue of its mission, its heritage and the abundance of its capacities. It is capable of providing itself and the world with the same spiritual, intellectual and civilizing radiance with which it enriched mankind in the past.

The difficulty of the current situation in the Arab world and its complexity lie in the dangers entailed by Iraq's entry into Kuwait, its forcible annexation of that country and the elimination of Kuwait as an independent State member of the League of Arab States and of the United Nations. We do not believe that this is legitimate conduct, and Iraq has no right to engage in such conduct even from the point of view of unification since methods of force and violence are not proper and appropriate methods for the achievement of unity but are rather a factor impeding and precluding any endeavour for unity.

May Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait then be the prelude to a new climate in which grave dangers can be averted and in which we may close ranks as a single force in the face of whoever threatens our territory, our interests, our dignity and our destiny.

Some may say that Iraq will be attacked even if it leaves Kuwait. In regard to this matter, I should like to affirm a brotherly covenant which is not open to doubt. If that were to happen after Iraq's departure from Kuwait, Syria, with all its material and moral capabilities, would stand by Iraq in one and the same trench and would fight alongside it with all its strength and all its valour until victory was achieved.

The interest of the nation is above all other interests. For its sake, every sacrifice is of slight importance and every danger is confronted with the appropriate decision and the appropriate stance, and this is what is expected of you yourself.

A decision now taken by you to defuse the crisis and to ward off from Iraq and from the Arab world the dangers of a devastating war will be recorded to your merit as a courageous act properly taken at a proper moment.

We beseech God that he will inspire us to righteousness and will guide us on the right path.

(Signed) Hafez AL-ASSAD
President
Syrian Arab Republic

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S/22071
14 January 1991
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LETTER DATED 14 JANUARY 1991 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

I have the honour to transmit to you the text of the decision taken on 12 January 1991 by the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics concerning the situation in the Persian Gulf.

I should be grateful if you would have the text of this letter circulated as an official document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Y. VORONTZOV

Annex

Decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics concerning the situation in the Persian Gulf

Having, at the request of the fourth session of the Congress of People's Deputies of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, reviewed the evolving crisis in the Persian Gulf and expressing its serious concern at the absence of any progress towards a peaceful settlement of the conflict and at the constantly rising tension prevailing in the region both militarily and politically, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR decides:

1. To support, because they correspond to the vital interests of the country, the many initiatives taken by the Government of the Soviet Union with a view to resolving the conflict in the Persian Gulf peacefully, in accordance with the rules of international law and with the requests made by the Security Council of the United Nations in its resolutions;

2. To invite all the parties to display a heightened sense of their responsibilities, to continue their efforts to find a political solution to this crisis, and not to accept a military confrontation which would have catastrophic consequences for the Middle East and the entire world. In this connection, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR hails and endorses the peace efforts being undertaken by the Secretary-General of the United Nations;

3. To instruct the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defence of the USSR to keep it regularly informed of any changes in the situation in the region of the Persian Gulf and the Middle East and to inform its international affairs, defence and national security committees of specific measures taken in accordance with this foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR affirms that decisions which, under the Constitution of the USSR, require the approval of the supreme legislative body cannot be taken without its agreement.

L. LUKYANOV
Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

UNITED
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14 January 1991
ENGLISH
ORIGINAL: ARABIC

NOTE VERBALE DATED 12 JANUARY 1991 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

The Permanent Representative of the Syrian Arab Republic to the United Nations presents his compliments to the Secretary-General and, with reference to his note SCPC/7/90 (6) of 7 December 1990 concerning the implementation by Member States of Security Council resolution 678 (1990), has the honour to inform him as follows:

> "The Government of the Syrian Arab Republic affirms its compliance with Security Council resolution 660 (1990) and with all of the Security Council resolutions relating to the Gulf crisis, and it is taking all measures necessary to ensure the implementation of those resolutions."

He requests the circulation of this note as a document of the Security Council.